

789 meets the same situation with prayer, which is not dissimilar in form, in that it too contains a wish for success. Magic might be considered as both realistic and non-realistic at the same time, the latter because it provides a screen between the native and his real world, and the former because it successfully meets a situation where confidence is lacking.

RELIGION

771 Any distinction between religion and magic must be more or less arbitrary. Malinowski's definition which gives "magic as a practical art consisting of acts which are only means to a definite end expected to follow later on; religion as a body of self-contained acts being themselves the fulfilment of their purpose,"¹ is a very useful one for the classification of behaviour, and is obviously intended for such, as it defines both phenomena in terms of "acts." But from a more strictly psychological point of view there seems to be little differentiation between religion and magic. The individual lives in a world which he cannot completely understand and control, and it is to this perplexing phenomena that he must make an adjustment, the form of which is determined by his particular culture. Magic and religion both give him the necessary security against the uncertainties of human existence. Religion is both a set of beliefs and a series of acts; but in a primitive society, such as the one in Lesu, it is not embodied in any one institution (such as a church), but is instead diffused throughout all of life, and is an attitude as well as behaviour. Religion seeks an identification of the individual with his world, which in turn brings him security. This identification is not contained in any one act or ritual alone, but pervades the whole of life. The fundamental division of the society into the

¹ Malinowski, B., Essay, "Magic, Science, and Religion," in *Science, Religion, and Reality*. Ed. by J. Needham (1926), p. 81.

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two groups, the Eagle and the Hawk, is an identification with two symbols of the natural world, the ever-present sea and the bush. In the clan organization a smaller group of people are identified with a piece of land, a very concrete symbol of the material world. The *gas*, or spirit double of each individual, dwelling on the clan land might be considered a projection of the individual's ego into the super-ego. 771 ●

So close is the identification of the individual native with his natural world through his totemic moiety, his clan, his *gas*, that these supernatural beliefs form a part of his everyday life, and are considered by him in no way different from any of his other knowledge. There is no more rationalization in the one than in the other, and neither is one more esoteric than the other.

This unconscious identification with the world is not the whole of religion. There are outlets for the emotions and for more or less mystical experiences. The dance is one of these outlets. One has only to look at the seriousness, the exaltation, and the complete inner absorption on the dancers' faces to know that here is a religious experience. More concretely, the native's serious attitude to the dance, his months of earnest preparations for it, indicate that it is no idle or merely amusing pastime. And the dance is held at all crises in the life of the individual, involving awe or fear. These occasions are birth, initiation of boys, first menses of the girls, marriage, and death. At all these rites *de passage* the individual also identifies himself with a group by coming together with its members at a feast.

THEORIES OF AFTER LIFE

The native's beliefs about after life and his identification with it are not so clear. A ghost is supposed to emerge from the mouth of the dying individual, to continue living in some 775